

"If secession could be peaceably effected—if the Northern and Southern States could be by common consent divided into two separate confederacies—if not one drop of blood was spilled, or one blade of grass destroyed, in making the change, it would still bring unnumbered evils in its train. There would be a standing army to be maintained of not less than fifty thousand men, at a cost of fifty millions of dollars per annum. A navy must be built up, and the money for that purpose dragged from the pockets of the people. There would be a long line of frontier extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the western limits of Missouri, and from the northern boundary of that State to the Rio Grande, which it would be necessary to stud with military posts, and every mile of which would require to be secured by armed patrols, for the double purpose of enforcing the revenue laws and preventing the escape of fugitive slaves. Every harbor along the vast extent of seacoast, from Delaware Bay to the Rio Grande, would require an appropriation of millions for its fortifications. The people would be ground down by taxes, and demoralized by the constant presence of troops in their midst, who acknowledged no restraints but those of military law. Incessant quarrels would grow up between you and your Northern neighbors, and bloody wars would desolate your frontiers, if they did not spread destruction throughout every portion of your territory.

"The dream of a Southern Confederacy is the wildest vision that ever troubled the brain of a moon-struck enthusiast; a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors, and a vile dependence on a foreign power."

As for the other condition on which I may be safe in Virginia, the taking of the oath of allegiance to the confederate States of America, I spurn it with infinite scorn. I would sooner rot in a dungeon than swear any such fealty.

This Government of the confederate States of America I regard as the grandest, most stupendous, foulest fraud known in the history of the world. It is no government of the people. The people had no part nor lot in the matter. It was, as to the Cotton States at least, the precipitation of discontented or ambitious spirits, that sought no redress for actual grievances, but who, for a higher civilisation, or a pure slave republic, or some other Utopian project, longed to break down the Government. "All changes in the fundamental law of a State, (said Mr. Calhoun,) ought to be the work of time, ample discussion, and reflection." But how was it with the formation of this Southern Confederacy? The South-Carolina Convention met on the seventeenth of December, 1860, and on the twentieth, she was out of the Union. And in less than four months, eight stars had been struck from the National standard. A government which it had cost our fathers seven years of hard fighting, and as many of hard experience and sober reflection to create, in four short months dashed into ruins! And this without the people being allowed the poor privilege of saying whether they would or would not sanc-

tion the vandalism! I can swear by no such government. Nor do I desire to live, or have my children live, under a government which contains, in the very first paragraph of its constitution, the principle of dissolution. Give me, rather, a government under which I and mine will have some guarantee for safety to property and for stability in all the rights of society; some safeguard against fickle change and destroying revolution. Give me the old Union—the Union of Washington and Madison, and Franklin, and not this poor abortion of Davis, Yancey, and Rhett, which,

"Like the Borealls race,
That flits ere you can find the place,"

may be here to-day, and forever gone to-morrow.

In truth, this struggle on the part of the loyal States, is a struggle for the very existence of the institution of property, and of all government itself. As such, it ought to be, and must be met.

For one, I cannot listen to the dulcet strain which comes up from the South on a thousand strings, that this struggle of the Cotton States is a struggle for the great principles of civil liberty. To put it on so honorable a basis, is bold imposture. The Constitution of the United States is the best system of civil liberty that ever emanated from human hearts and heads. It is the accumulated political wisdom of the world, from the time of Magna Charta to 1789. Those who would subvert it, are no friends to civil liberty. They are strangers to the spirit of Hampden, and Russell, and Pym, and Algernon Sidney, and Washington, and Hancock, and Otis, and Thatcher, and Madison, and Clay, and Webster. Yet more unblushing is the effrontery which would liken the contest in which the confederate States are engaged, to the struggle for colonial liberty in the Revolution. The comparison is almost profanity. It utterly falsifies history. The great principle of the American Revolution was, that taxation and representation should not be disunited. The Colonies contended that unless they were represented, they should not be taxed—that they who paid the taxes, should have a voice in their imposition. Is any such principle involved in the present conflict? Was ever the right claimed to tax the Southern people without representation? Has the Federal Government ever made the effort to deprive them of representation? *Before* secession, had not the now seceded States full representation in the Congress—a representation of all white citizens, and three fifths of all others, including slaves? And, by virtue of that representation, has not the South nearly all the time controlled and shaped the Federal legislation and policy? Did not South-Carolina herself, through her Calhoun and Lowndes, and other representatives, even fix upon New-England the protective system? And how does the South now lose her representation in the National Legislature, but by her own silly, suicidal act of secession? And how has she fallen into her present position of peril, war, desolation, and ruin, but by seceding and giving up her representation